

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

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IO-10 L-02 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01

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R 211730Z MAR 75

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 767

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 1583

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: ADHOC GROUP REPORT TO THE NAC, MARCH 21.

REF: A. MBFR VIENNA 121

B. USNATO 1555 DTG 201735Z MAR 75

SUMMARY: AHG ON MARCH 21 BRIFED THE NAC ON DEVELOPMENTS IN THE NEGOTIATION SINCE THE LAST REGULAR AHG BRIEFING ON FEBRUARY 38. AMBASSADOR DE VOS (NETHERLANDS) WAS PRINCIPAL AHG SPOKESMAN, ASSISTED BY AMBASSADOR RESOR, (U.S.), AND MINISTER SPYRIDAKIS (GREECE). DE VOS' REPORT LARGELY FOLLOWED THE TEXT IN REF A. QUESTIONS AND REMARKS BY PERMREPS LARGELY CENTERED ON OPTION III, WITH DE STAERCKE (BELGIUM), NARTOGH(NETHERLANDS), PANSA (ACTING SYG), AND ADMIRAL HILL-NORTON (CHAIRMAN OF MILITARY COMMITTEE) SUPPORTING EARLY ALLIED STUDY SO AHG WOULD HAVE GUIDANCE WHEN THE TIME IS RIGHT. END SUMMARY.

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1. AMBASSADOR DE VOS BEGAN THE DISCUSSION WITH T AREPORT ON THE NEGOTIATION WHICH LARGELY FOLLOWED THE TEXT IN REF A.

2. ACTING SYG (PANSA) NOTED THE LACK OF FLEXIBILITY ON THE OTHER

SIDE AND ASKED WHY, AND WHAT SHOULD BE THE ALLIES' RESPONSE.

3. DE STAERCKE (BELGIUM) SAID THE APPARENT CLAM IN VIENNA WAS A DANGEROUS ONE. HE NOTED THAT THE EAST HOPES TO HAVE PHASE III OF CSCE COMPLETED IN JULY. AFTER CONCLUSION OF CSCE, THE ALLIES CAN EXPECT SPEECHES BY BREZHNEV AND PUBLIC PRESSURE FOR ADVANCEMENT OF MILITARY SECURITY IN EUROPE. HE CONSIDERED IT URGENT THAT THE ALLIES PREPARE THEIR POSITION IN MBFR IN ORDER TO RESPOND TO SUCH PRESSURE AFTER CONCLUSION OF CSCE. HE SAW TWO AREAS IN MBFR FOR ALLIANCE WORK: OPTION III, AND THE COMMON CEILING. HE NOTED THAT BELGIUM HAD INTRODUCED A TEXT AT THE SPC MEETING THE PREVIOUS DAY ON THE COMMON CEILING, IN THE CONTEXT OF PRESENT SPC WORK ON THAT SUBJECT (REF B). PANSA AGREED THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD DISCUSS THESE MATTERS INTERNALLY.

4. DE VOS SAID THE AHG HAS NO CONCRETE EVIDENCE CONCERNING THE CONNECTION OF MBFR WITH OTHER NEGOTIATIONS SUCH AS CSCE. THERE WAS NO INDICATION THAT AFTER CSCE THERE WOULD BE A GREATER SENSE OF EASTERN URGENCY AND READINESS TO NEGOTIATE ON MBFR. HE NOTED THAT THE EAST DID SEEM TO BE EXPECTING NEW ALLIED INITIATIVES, AND OPTION III WOULD BE AN IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION ON THEIR PART.

5. AMBASSADOR RESOR, IN RESPONSE TO THE QUESTION ON WHY THE EAST WAS MARKING TIME, NOTED DE VOS' INTRODUCTORY REMARKS THAT THE EAST IS CONFIDENT THAT ITS PRESENT POSTURE IS CREDIBLE WITH PUBLIC OPINION. REGARDING THE QUESTION ON WHAT THE ALLIES SHOULD DO, HE NOTED THE AHG APPRAISAL THAT THERE WOULD BE NO SUBSTANTIAL MOVE FORWARD IN THE NEGOTIATION WITH THE POSITIONS AS THEY PRESENTLY ARE. HE SAID THE ALLIES SEEMED TO BENEFIT FROM A LACK OF PUBLIC FOCUS ON MBFR IN THE PRESS. HE SUPPOSED THERE WAS NO IMMEDIATE PROBLEM IN THIS REGARD. HOWEVER, RESOR NOTED THAT DE STAERCKE DID POINT TO A PROBLEM ON THE HORIZON, WHEN AFTER A CSCE SUMMIT, PUBLIC ATTENTION MAY FOCUS ON MBFR. HE NOTED THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE TALKED FOR SOME TIME ABOUT COMPLIMENTING POLITICAL DETENTE WITH MILITARY DETENTE. KHLESTOV YESTERDAY AT THE PLENARY SESSION
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HAD REFERRED TO DEVELOPING DETENTE. HE AGREED WITH DE STAERCKE THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD PROBABLY FOLLOW THAT LINE WHEN THE OPPORTUNITY PRESENTED ITSELF, AND A SUMMIT WOULD BE A GOOD OPPORTUNITY. HOWEVER, THE AHG AS A GROUP HAS NOT LOOKED THAT FAR AHEAD. HE SAID HE PERSONALLY AGREED WITH THE NEED TO LOOK AHEAD.

6. PANSA SAID THAT IF THE ALLIES WANT MOVEMENT IN MBFR, THEY NEED TO BEGIN STUDYING ELEMENTS OF OPTION III.

7. MENZIES (CANADA) ASKED THE AHG REPS IF THEY SENSED IN THEIR INFORMAL CONTACTS WHAT MIGHT BE THE REACTION OF THE PACT TO AN ALLIED INITIATIVE ON TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS, AND MORE PARTICULARLY WHETHER, HAVING PLAYED THE ALLIED ACE, THERE WOULD

BE ANY MORE DISPOSITION ON THE OTHER SIDE TO WORK TOWARD A
COMMON CEILING ON MANPOWER.

8. DE VOS REPLIED THAT THE AHG HAD NOT GONE INTO THAT SORT OF
DETAIL IN VIENNA IN VIEW OF THE ABSENCE OF NAC CONSIDERATION OPTION
III. HE SAID IT WAS CLEAR TO HIM THAT THE OTHER SIDE IS WAITING FOR
THE ALLIES TO BRING IN NUCLEAR ELEMENTS. THE ALLIES CAN ASSUME THAT
NUCLEAR ELEMENTS ARE IMPORTANT TO THE OTHER SIDE, WHOSE ATTACK
ON THE COMMON CEILING CONCEPT IS BASED ON THE CLAIM THAT THE
ALLIES ARE SINGLING OUT ONE ASPECT OF THE MILITARY RELATIONSHIP.
RESOR SAID THAT THE AHG HAD NO CONCRETE INDICATION OF THE LIKELY
EASTERN REACTION TO OPTION III SINCE THE AHG HAD CAREFULLY MAIN-
TAINED THAT THE ALLIES WERE NOT PROPOSING INCLUSION OF NUCLEAR
ELEMENTS. HOWEVER, THE EAST CONTINUES TO CLAIM THAT THE ALLIES
ARE IGNORING NUCLEAR AND AIR ELEMENTS. THE EAST HAS MADE CLEAR
TWO CRITERIA FOR A SUCCESSFUL NEGOTIATION: REDUCTIONS OF EQUAL
VALUE; AND AN OVERALL CORRELATION OF FORCES IN THE AREA NOT
CHANGED TO THEIR DETRIMENT. SOMETHING LIKE OPTION III MIGHT PROVIDE
ARGUMENTS FOR SOMEONE ON THE OTHER SIDE
INTERESTED IN AN AGREEMENT TO THE EFFECT THAT THE ALLIES WERE
MEETING EASTERN REQUIREMENTS.

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9. ADMIRAL HILL-NORTON (CHAIRMAN OF MILITARY COMMITTEE) SAID
NAC NEEDS A GOOD DEAL MORE INFORMATION ON THE DAMAGE EFFECTS OF
OPTION III, AS WELL AS MILITARY AND POLITICAL ADVICE
ON WHETHER ALLIES WOULD BETTER ADVOCATE IT FOR PHASE I OR

PHASE II. HE SAID HE HAD GATHERED SOME INFORMATION INTERNALLY, I.E. WITHOUT CONSULTING SACEUR. HE THOUGHT THAT IF THE ALLIES GAVE AWAY OPTION III IN PHASE I, THIS WOULD BE UNNECESSARY, AND WOULD BE GIVING AWAY TOO MUCH, BUT HE NOTED THAT HE MADE THIS REMARK WITHOUT COMPLETE INFORMATION.

10. ERALP (TURKEY) SAID THAT THE ALLIES ARE THINKING IN TERMS OF OPTION III, AND THE OTHER SIDE IS EXPECTING TO BE INTRODUCED. SINCE THAT IS THE CASE, THE OTHER SIDE IS MARKING TIME. THE ALLIES NEED TO BE VERY CAREFUL IN CHOOSING WHAT TO GIVE FOR WHAT OBJECTIVE. IF THE ALLIES PUT IN ADDITIONAL EQUIPMENT TO ATTAIN THE COMMON CEILING, THAT MIGHT CREATE ADDITIONAL IMBALANCES. HE OBSERVED THAT THERE WAS NOT ONLY A STALEMATE IN VIENNA, BUT THERE WAS ALSO A STALEMATE AT NATO ON THE FLANK
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SECURITY ISSUE. HE SAID THAT THE TIME HAS COME TO GIVE THAT ISSUE A PUSH.

11. SVART (DENMARK) SAID RUSSIAN EXPERIENCE OVER THE CENTURIES LEADS THEM TO WANT TO OVER-INSURE REGARDING THEIR MILITARY SECURITY. THE MILITATES AGAINST THE COMMON CEILING. THE INDUCEMENT FOR THE COMMON CEILING WOULD HAVE TO BE VERY GREAT, AND THE ALLIES SHOULD FACE THIS.

12. HARROGH (NETHERLANDS) SAID HE SHARED DE STAERCKE'S VIEWS. THE ALLIES NEED TO LOOK AT OPTION III. HE NOTED THAT IN TALKING ABOUT OPTION III, THE ALLIES ARE NOT TALKING ABOUT THE ORIGINAL U.S. SUBMISSION ON OPTION III IN APRIL, 1973, BUT ARE NOT TALKING ABOUT ADDING SOMETHING TO THE PRESENT ALLIED POSITION. HE SAID HE SHARED DE STAERCKE'S APPEAL TO THE U.S. TO START ALLIANCE STUDY OF OPTION III EARLY.

13. LOGAN (UK) INQUIRED WHETHER AHG HAD THE IMPRESSION OPTION III WAS A TRUMP CARD, OR WHETHER AFTER INTRODUCTION THE OTHER SIDE WOULD STILL MAINTAIN OTHER ISSUES SUCH AS NATINAL SUB-CEILINGS OR PHASING. RESOR REFERRED TO DE VOS' INTRODUCTORY REMARKS DESCRIBING TWO MAIN STUMBLING BLOCKS SEEN BY THE EAST: THAT THE WEST SEEKS UNILATERAL MILITARY ADVANTAGE, I.E. ASYMMETRICAL GROUND FORCE REDUCTIONS; AND THET THE ALLIES OTHER THAN THE U.S. REFUST TO ACCEPT SPECIFIC REDUCTION COMMITMENTS FROM THE OUTSET. THE EAST WILL NOT GIVE UP THESE CRITICISMS EASILY.

14. DE STAERCKE STRESSED THAT WHAT HE WAS ADVOCATING WAS AN INTERNAL ALLIED STUDY, SO THAT THE ALLIES WOULD NOT LATER BE CAUGHT BY SURPRISE BY THE NEED FOR GUIDANCE ON OPTION III. HE ALSO NOTED, IN THE CONTEXT OF THE NUNN REPORT, THAT WITH MODERNIZATION THE ALLIES COULD AT NOO SACRIFICE INSERT CERTAIN NUCLEAR ELEMENTS INTO MBFR. PANSА SAID HE THOUGH TIME WAS RUNNING OUT, AND THAT IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO HAVE SOMETHING ON OPTION III PRIOR TO THE MINISTERIAL.

15. DE VOS NOTED THAT AHG DOES NOT HAVE SPECIFIC INFORMATION ON OPTION III, BUT HE BELIEVED THAT BRINGING IT IN WAS ESSENTIAL TO GET THE OTHER SIDE ENGAGED IN SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS.

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16. HILL-NORTON STRESSED THE DIFFICULTY FACED BY THE MILITARY AUTHORITIES IN PRESENTING A VIEW ON AN UNFINISHED PROJECT. PANSA SAID THAT THE NAC UNDERSTOOD THIS, AND THAT IT WAS DIFFICULT FOR HILL-NORTON TO WORK IN A VACUUM. HILL-NORTON SAID HE TOOK THAT AS AN INVITATION FOR MILITARY AUTHORITIES TO PRESENT THEIR IDEAS, AND PANSA TOLD HILL-NORTON HE HAD RIGHT OF INITIATIVE..

17. SELMER (NORWAY) ASKED IF AHG SAW A PRESSING NEED TO BE VERY SPECIFIC WITH THE EAST ON FLANK SECURITY AT APRIL 10 PLENARY, OR IF AHG COULD SIMPLY REVERT IN GENERAL TERMS TO PREVIOUS ALLIED STATEMENTS ON NEED TO SAFEGUARD FLANK SECURITY. DE VOS SAID IT WAS USEFUL TO REMIND THE OTHER SIDE OF THIS MATTER FROM TIME TO TIME, SO THE EAST WILL NOT THINK THAT THE ALLIES HAVE LOST INTEREST. IT WOULD NOT BE ESSENTIAL TO HAVE GUIDANCE BY APRIL 10. THE SUMMARY STATEMENT AT THE END OF THE PRESENT NEGOTIATING ROUND WOULD BE AN OPPORTUNITY TO REMIND THE OTHER SIDE ABOUT FLANK SECURITY. SPYRIDAKIS SAID THERE WAS A NEED FOR NAC GUIDANCE ON FLANK SECURITY FOR USE IN VIENNA WHEN THE TIME IS RIGHT. HE AGREED THAT APRIL 10 DATE PROBABLY NOT ESSENTIAL FOR GUIDANCE, AND IF NEW GUIDANCE WERE NOT AVAILABLE, THE AHG WAS BOUND TO REPEAT ITSELF. ERALP ASKED IF IT WERE NOT COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE ONLY TO MENTION FLANK SECURITY TO THE OTHER SIDE AND POSSIBLY GIVE THEM THE IDEA THAT WE HAVE DISAGREEMENT AMONG OURSELVES ABOUT IT. CATALANO (ITALY) SAID HE SUPPORTED ERALP'S REMARKS.

18. PANSA AGAIN SAID THAT TIME WAS RUNNING OUT FOR ALLIED STUDY OF OPTION III. HE SAID SPC WOULD OF COURSE CONTINUE ITS WORK ON FLANK SECURITY. HE NOTED, DATE OF NEXT AHG REPORT TO THE NAC AS APRIL 18, AND PERMREPS RAISED NO OBJECTION.
BRUCE

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